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THE STONE RECORDS OF GROTON

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Occasional Publications Volume I
The New London County Historical Society

THE STONE RECORDS OF GROTON

BY

FRANCES MANWARING CAULKINS

13

EDITED BY

EMILY S. GILMAN

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PREFACE

THE New London County Historical Society has among its possessions many manuscripts of the late Miss Frances Manwaring Caulkins, whose labors as local historian and indefatigable worker in the field of local antiquities have secured for her deserved recognition. Miss Caulkins is best known by her *Histories of New London and of Norwich*, to which she devoted years of earnest labor.

Among the most interesting of the unpublished manuscripts is that entitled by her "Stone Records of Groton." Instead of following the form adopted for the recently published *Diary of Joshua Hempstead*, the Historical Society decided to initiate a new form, which it hopes to follow in future occasional publications, and which has the advantage of lending itself readily to illustration and artistic embellishment. The success which attended the publication, a year ago, of the *Journal of Madam Knight* induced the society to entrust the preparation of this initial volume of its occasional publications to the Norwich Free Academy Press, and the present volume is the result.

The editorial charge, as will be seen, has been

undertaken by Miss Emily S. Gilman, and the illustrations are the work of Miss Lucy Greenman of the Norwich Art School. Mr. Ozias Dodge and Miss Morse of the Art School, Mr. Cranston of the Manual Training department of the Academy, Mr. Beebe of the Academy Printing Office, Mr. Adams of the Academy Book-bindery have all contributed to make the book what it is. Every particle of work upon the volume, with the exception of the mechanical reproduction of the illustrations, has been done, upon Academy ground, by those connected with the Free Academy. The tombstone inscriptions have been very carefully revised after repeated visits to the various burying grounds, and the punctuation, spelling, and use of capitals will be found to conform strictly to the originals. The credit of this revision is due to Mr. Cranston and Mr. Beebe. It should be understood that the stones which have been selected for reproduction are those which best illustrate the stone-cutter's art of the period.

The volume illustrates that varied activity in many directions which is believed to be characteristic of the Norwich Free Academy ; it also illustrates the united effort of the sister cities of New London and Norwich.

ROBERT PORTER KEEP

Norwich, June 1903

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INTRODUCTION

DIRECTLY opposite New London, on the eastern side of the Thames, is Groton Height, on which are situated Fort Griswold and the Monument, commemorative of a dark scene in the history of the place.

Groton received its name from the first Governor Winthrop of Connecticut (John Winthrop the Younger), who, having a large tract of land in this portion of the new world, stamped upon it the name of his birth-place in England. It was a part of New London until 1705, and until 1836 included within its bounds the present town of Ledyard, at first called North Groton. The area of the town is still large, comprising several flourishing villages, and though surpassed in wealth, population and resources, by some of its neighbors, in respect to venerated names and those historical facts and exploits that make a place eminent through all time, it yields the

palm to no town in the State. Two tragedies of surpassing interest are recorded in its annals.

This region had become famous before it had been named, or its surface explored, by the English. Here were the principal fortresses and villages of the Pequot tribe of Indians; here flourished Sassacus their renowned leader, whose foes trembled when they named him. The fierce Mohawks feared and respected the terrible Sachem and the powerful Narragansetts said of him "He all one god; no man can kill him."

It is strange that a tribe so considerable, occupying these fertile hills and pleasant shores, should have left so few traces of themselves to be gathered from history, legend, relics, or structures. Groton was the scene of the first important conflict with the Indians in all New England: a conflict which resulted in the extinction of the tribe, who left their name and history to the mercy of their enemies, without any record of their own, or any vestige of the past to testify even to their existence as an independent tribe.

A new race took possession of the conquered domain and it became an English settlement. In a short time farm-houses and orchards ap-

peared and groups of sheep, cattle and horses, before unknown to the country, gave a cheerful aspect to the rugged pastures and bleak hills. Yet little more than a century passed before the same desirable land was the scene of one of the most sanguinary conflicts of the revolutionary war.

A granite column standing on the height commemorates this awful tragedy. It was quarried out of the neighboring cliffs, planted by the side of the old fortress and dedicated to its sacred office in 1830.

The prospect from the summit of the monument extends north to the Mohegan hills where Uncas had his watch-tower; to the South the view extends over a wide stretch of the Sound, and is diversified with islands, promontories, light-houses and passing sails, and bounded by a long waving shadow, which marks the coast of Long Island, while to the west and directly at one's feet is the river Thames and New London on the further bank with its spires and masts, its neat gray fortress and its well-defined harbor

Turning to the East, the eye rests upon a long ridge of cultivated land, on the summit of which stood the royal fortress of the Pequots

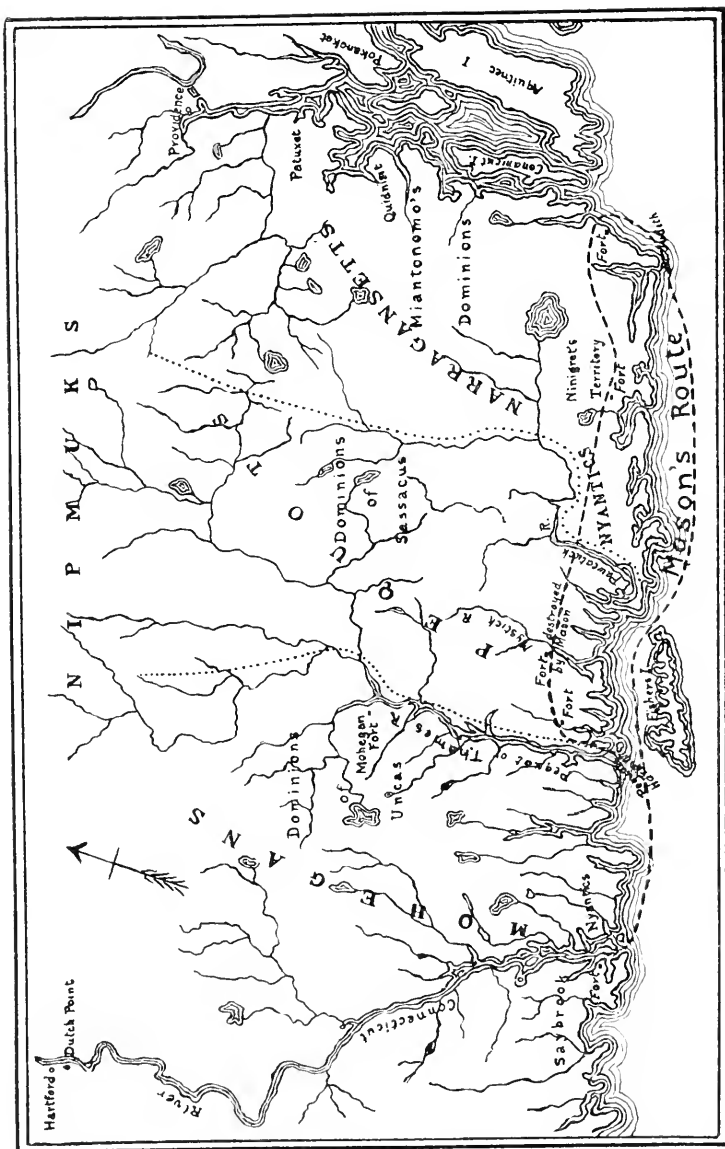
where Sassacus held his barbarous court. Beyond this, five or six miles distant, on a high bank overlooking Mystic river, stood the second still more renowned fort of the same tribe, which was taken and destroyed by Capt. Mason and his company from the new settlements on the Connecticut river in 1637. This was that first great conflict between the races in New England, to which allusion has been made. Yet it was rather a massacre than a battle.

The English soldiers were guided to the fort by Wequash, a Pequot, who had previously deserted his countrymen and sought the friendship of the invaders. For this service he was praised and rewarded by our people, but his tribe regarded him as a traitor. The works were taken by surprise; quarter was denied to the wretched inmates; they were met at first with a volley of musketry and then with sword and bayonet. Flaming brands from their own hearth-stones were applied to their huts, and by fire, sword and musketry the work of destruction was completed. Many of those who attempted to escape from the flames were caught upon the bayonet and slain or thrust back into the fire.

What reader of history can stand upon this

spot without connecting and comparing in his mind the events of May 26th, 1637, with those of September 6th, 1781? The latter conflict seems but a repetition, after a long interval, of the old tragedy of the wilderness.

In the following pages will be found a more expanded account of the two battles that give such prominence to the History of Groton.



MASON'S EXPEDITION

SASSACUS was the superior chief, or Sachem, of the Pequots, twenty-six subordinate captains acknowledging his authority. The English colonists took no precautionary steps to conciliate his friendship or secure his neutrality, and even in several instances favored his enemies and prejudiced his claims. As a natural consequence he was hostile to their settlements and committed various overt acts of enmity and aggression, which called down their vengeance.

Two special acts of hostility were charged upon the Pequots. First, that in 1634, they, or some tribe in alliance with them, for whom they were held responsible, had attacked a pinnace, or trading vessel in the Connecticut river, killed the whole crew, eight in number—two of whom were Captains Stone and Norton, well-known coasting traders—and had plundered and burnt the vessel. Secondly, that in 1635, Mr. John Oldham of

Plymouth, while trading in his pinnace at Block Island, had been killed by Indians who fled to the Pequots for refuge, and these were therefore considered as abettors of the murder.

For the chastisement of these atrocities, an expedition was fitted out from Massachusetts Bay, consisting of about ninety men (four companies of twenty men each, all volunteers), under the general command of John Endicott, Esq. They were authorized to put to death the men of Block Island and to bring away the women and children:—to demand of the Pequots the murderers of Capt. Stone and other Englishmen, and in case of refusal to obtain their demands by force.

This squadron landed on Block Island the last day of August 1636. The inhabitants fled and concealed themselves in thickets and the troops spent two days in searching for them without success. They plundered the villages, burnt wigwams, mats, corn and canoes, and, according to Underhill, who commanded one of the four companies, killed fourteen Indians and “maimed others.”

After recruiting a few days at Saybrook fort, the expedition came into Pequot river and anchored in what is now New London

Harbor, where they spent the night. The next day, probably September 6th, after a vain attempt on the part of the Pequots to obtain terms and conclude a treaty of peace, the troops landed on the east side, climbed up the rocky banks to Groton Heights, and as the Indians fled before them "they marched up to their town and burnt all their wigwams and mats, but their corn being standing they could not spoil it." The next day they committed the same havoc on the west side of the river (New London), burning the huts and spoiling the canoes, and departed, leaving the tribe in a state of great exasperation.

The Pequots now dismissed all thoughts of peace and submission. The utter extinction of the English settlements became their controlling object and they pursued the work with savage desperation. They lay in ambush around Saybrook fort, watched and guarded Connecticut river, infested the land routes and stood ready to leap on every white person that could be found unprotected. At Saybrook and at Wethersfield men were put to death by torture and the insulting barbarians boasted that they could kill Englishmen "all one flies".

On the first day of May 1637, deputies from

the three English towns on the river, Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield, met in General Court at Hartford and decided on an offensive war against the Pequots. They ordered ninety men to be levied for the expedition. The command was given to Captain John Mason: Robert Seely was his lieutenant and in case of his death was to be his successor. Mr. Stone of Hartford was selected for the chaplain.

This company embarked at Hartford, May 10th, in three vessels,—a pink, a pinnace and a shallop. The Mohegan chief Uncas, with sixty or seventy men, went by land, to join the party at Saybrook. Uncas had been a tributary chief to Sassacus but, having revolted and been driven from his seat upon the Pequot river, he had retired with most of his tribe to a tract of land claimed by him on the east side of Connecticut river, and had entered into alliance with the English.

Captain Mason's little fleet was five days in getting down the river and was wind-bound several days at Saybrook. Here twenty of his men were dismissed, their place being supplied with the same number from Saybrook fort, under Capt. Underhill. Here they were also joined by Uncas and his men. The whole

force set sail on Friday, May 19th, arriving at Narragansett on Saturday evening but, the wind being adverse and blowing violently, a landing was not effected until Tuesday. They had sailed directly past the Pequot bounds with the design of landing beyond and marching back through the wilderness to attack them by surprise in the rear.

This plan was accomplished. They spent one night with Miantonomoh the Narragansett sachem, and Wednesday, May 24th, began their westward march, seventy-seven Englishmen, sixty Mohegan and River Indians, and a throng of about two hundred Narragansetts. They marched twenty miles the first day and encamped for the night with the Nianticks. The next day the Indian auxiliaries were increased to the number of five hundred,—the whole making a formidable army. But for the most part it was a transitory force, unstable as water. Nearly half the Indians deserted that night. The next day after marching fifteen miles, they reached Mystic river, which they crossed at a fording place near its head and encamped under the shadow of a high ridge, since called Porter's Rocks. This was about two miles distant from the Indian fort-

ress that they designed to attack. The sentinels posted in advance upon the hills heard the festal shouts and songs of the savages, till midnight.

The troops were aroused two hours before day and summoned to prayer, after which they marched directly to the doomed fort, which stood on a rugged height of ground. Wequash, a revolted Pequot, was their guide. "This fort, or palisado, was well nigh an acre of ground, which was surrounded with trees and half-trees, set into the ground three feet deep, and fastened close one to another. The space therein is full of wigwams, wherein their wives and children live with them."

The fort had two entrances, or narrow doors, closed with boughs and bushes and the invaders advanced towards each, in two bands, led by Captains Mason and Underhill. The moon shone, but they approached in profound stillness and were not discovered till Mason was within a rod of the west entrance, when a dog barked and an Indian sentinel suddenly cried out "Owannox! Owannox!" i. e. Englishmen!

Captain Mason drew up his men and fired a volley through the palisades. The entrance

was blocked up with bushes breast-high, but he leaped over, commanding his men to follow and Lieutenant Seely, hastily removing the bushes, entered with sixteen men. No Indians were to be seen till Mason, sword in hand, entered a wigwam where he found himself in the midst of a squad of warriors, by whom he was attacked, but he defended himself manfully and slew one. William Hayden then came to his assistance and the Indians fled or crept under mats and skins to hide themselves.

Within the palisade were about ninety huts separated by lanes or streets. Mason with a few of his companions rushed down one of these streets, driving a throng of terrified Indians before him, who at the end of the street were met by the English who had entered at the other gate with Captain Underhill. Leaving the fugitives to the swords of his second party, the Captain turned and retraced his steps to the west side where he had entered the fort. The wigwams swarmed with Indians, but they knew not what to do. Captain Mason had previously designed not to burn the fort, but to slay the warriors and carry away the plunder. Suddenly he exclaimed, "We must burn them," and entering the wigwam he had

first visited and cleared of its inmates he brought out a blazing brand and applied it to the dry matting that covered it. The flames caught and spread rapidly, extending from roof to roof and sweeping into the cabins where the bewildered savages, men, women and children had huddled together in their fear. They were speedily driven out by the smoke and flames and, the English being on watch guarding the doors and pathways, a terrible slaughter ensued. Captain Underhill had set fire to the other side of the fort with a train of powder and, the flames meeting in the center, the whole was consumed in the space of half an hour.

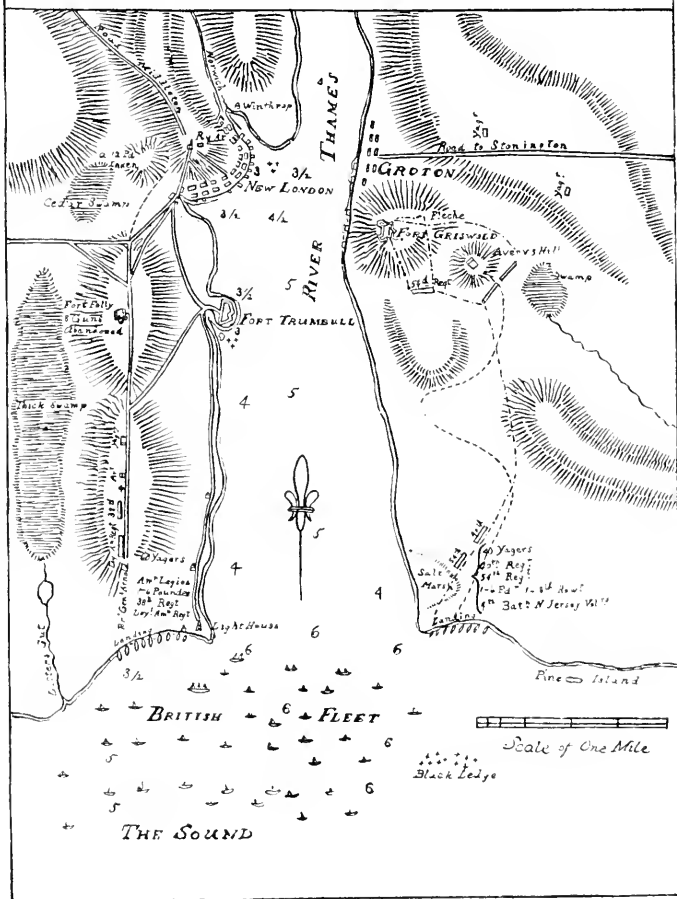
Some of the more nimble warriors attempting to escape over the palisades were shot dead ; or, if they cleared the fence, were slain by the Indian auxiliaries, who were stationed in a circle outside the fort. A band of about forty came forth furiously in close order, with brandished tomahawks to fight their way through, but were nearly all slain. "Many," says Capt. Underhill, "were burnt in the fort both men, women and children. Others forced their way out and came in troops, twenty and thirty at a time, which our soldiers received and entertained with the point of

the sword."

The women and children for the most part perished in the wigwams: any who endeavored to escape were driven back to the flames by the soldiers. The English could not encumber themselves with prisoners and, unwilling to leave their work incomplete, gave free course to vengeance.

Of the whole number in the fort only seven captives were taken and it was supposed that about the same number escaped. It was variously estimated that from three hundred to seven hundred Indians were slain. Two Englishmen were killed and twenty wounded. The conquering party marched to Pequot Harbor, where they met their vessels and returned to Hartford which they reached in about three weeks from the time of their departure.

with the attacks made on
FORTS TRUMBULL & GEISWOLD by the BRITISH TROOPS
 under the Command of BRIG^d GEN^l ARNOLD Sept^r 6^d 1777.



ARNOLD'S EXPEDITION

DURING the war of the revolution, the harbor of New London was a noted rendezvous for the armed vessels of the American States. Here they were often fitted and recruited for service. The privateering business was also prosecuted by the adventurous merchants and seamen of New London with great vigor and success. Situated near the entrance into Long Island Sound, this harbor opens its inviting arms to welcome the victor returning with his spoils, or to receive the flying fugitive and protect him from further pursuit. As a place convenient for slipping out to sea, it possesses also great advantages. In these respects New London was particularly serviceable to the country during the war and therefore became obnoxious to the British officers, by whom it was denounced and marked for chastisement at the first convenient opportunity.

In the meantime the cruisers or privateering

vessels of the port increased from year to year and with them the energy and business of the place. In 1779 and 1780, success attended almost every cruise that was undertaken and the favor of fortune continued into the summer of 1781, when the climax was reached by the capture of a rich merchant ship called the *Hannah*. This was a vessel from London laden with costly merchandize for New York traders and with private supplies for the British officers quartered in that city. She had neared the Southern coast of Long Island and was almost at the end of her voyage, when the privateer *Minerva*, Captain Dudley Saltonstall, came athwart her course and greeting her with a rough salute, shot down her flag, then running along side and boarding her, at once obtained possession and brought her safely into port.

This was a distinguished prize. It was probably the most valuable single seizure made on the high seas during the war. The cargo consisted of an assortment of choice goods adapted to the New York market. It was regarded as a token of good fortune to New London, but in reality it sealed her doom and made her destruction sure. The capture

of this vessel, just as her arrival was eagerly anticipated and the supplies she bore were most urgently required, was the one drop too much that made the town's offences to run over and exasperated the British into immediate reprisal.

A fitting instrument for the vengeance of the enemy was at hand. Benedict Arnold had deserted the American cause the preceding year (in Sept. 1780) and had been received into the British service with the rank of Brigadier General. Since that time he had conducted a predatory expedition against Richmond and other portions of the Virginian coast, plundering, burning and destroying the public stores, mills and shipping in his course. He was now opportunely in New York, unemployed; nor could any other person have been found in the whole range of British choice,—among the regular troops, the hired Hessians or the American royalists—so well prepared as General Arnold to conduct the expedition and perform the service to which he was forthwith appointed.

He was a native of New London County and almost as familiar with the town itself as an inhabitant. He knew all its streets and

lanes, its shops and ware-houses, and the names and faces of its most prominent citizens. He had often sailed from the port, and was conversant with every turn of the coast, like one of its own pilots. He knew all the contiguous country, the streams, the highlands and winding roads, and was therefore able to estimate before hand the facilities for ensuring success, or the obstacles that might be encountered in the undertaking. In addition to these advantages he was supposed to be in secret correspondence with certain personal friends in the town of tory propensities, who covertly favored the enemy and served him as spies and informers.

This was at a critical point of the American conflict. General Washington and his Gallic allies were advancing upon Yorktown. The British and French fleets under Admiral Graves and the Count de Grasse were each maneuvering to obtain command of Chesapeake Bay. In New York Sir Henry Clinton was sending reinforcements to the South, equipping privateers and particularly earnest in furnishing Arnold with everything necessary for the vengeful attack upon New London, which was expected to be a short, spirited and decisive

expedition and one of the most brilliant episodes of the war.

The preparations were made with great secrecy. The fleet set sail and swept along the coast of Long Island almost unnoticed from the opposite shore. The inhabitants of the doomed town had not heard that the thunderbolt was forging when the cloud broke over them ; except that at nightfall, September 5th, a rumor came floating by that a fleet of British transports had been seen advancing through the Sound, and that they were even then lurking under the shadow of Long Island, opposite the harbor of New London. But the people had been long accustomed to threatening reports and false alarms and gave little heed to the intelligence. The inhabitants, one and all, officers in charge and householders with their families, passed the night in their usual repose. With the first dawning light, the fleet was discovered approaching the Connecticut shore, but even then it was generally supposed to be a prowling expedition, sent out to scour the coast for stock and other provisions ; such as had often disturbed the surface of the Sound and devastated its borders. It was near sunrise before

the alarm guns sounded and couriers flying through the town aroused the inhabitants to a sense of immediate danger. Hundreds rushed to the hill-tops and found the tidings in their fullest extent verified. The British vessels lay at the mouth of the river and troops were landing both on the New London and Groton side.

And now the alarm spread in every direction; tumultuous cries resounded through the streets. "The Regulars are coming! The Regulars are coming! They have landed and are marching over Town Hill! The fort is taken! The Red Coats are on us! Fly! Fly!"

Dire confusion followed. In some cases stupid amazement and in others uncontrollable excitement prevailed. The whole town was a scene of flight, fear, bewilderment and wailing lamentation. The inhabitants deserted their houses with the few valuables they could seize and fled with precipitation to the fields, thickets and farm houses of the vicinity. A few ventured to stay long enough to bury in their gardens or to deposit in wells articles of value.

Arnold, with a force of 800 men under his immediate command, landed about two miles

from the town a little to the west of the present light house. The only obstructions to his route were an insignificant redoubt upon Town Hill and Fort Trumbull, then a clumsy and incomplete work, on a point projecting into the river. Both were untenable in case of a land attack and made no defense, but were abandoned at the approach of the enemy. Captain Adam Shapley was in command at Fort Trumbull, with a garrison of twenty-five men. He had orders from Colonel Ledyard, in case of attack to spike the guns and retreat across the river. This he aimed to accomplish, but the enemy coming down with a rush compelled the garrison to take to their boats in haste, and a piece of cannon that had been left unspiked was turned against them. One of the boats was struck and disabled and two of the men wounded, obliging the party to return and surrender. The other boats crossed in safety and the men joined the garrison at Fort Griswold.

Arnold and his party, meeting with no check, marched rapidly forward and, before the sun reached the meridian were in full possession of the deserted town, and had encircled it on the land side with a chain of guards and scouts.

The work of destruction then commenced. The shipping was the prime object of attack. Strenuous exertions had been made to remove a part of it, and several vessels actually escaped up the river, through the favor of an opportune breeze, but all that could be reached were set on fire. The *Hannah*, in particular, lying at Shaw's wharf not yet more than half relieved of her rich cargo, was kindled in various places and the fire cherished, till swinging free from her fastenings she drifted over to Winthrop's Neck a moving pinnacle of flame. Boats, scows, wharves were all destroyed. Flames were also applied to the shops, stores, ware-houses and all places of business; to the Jail where tories had been so often lodged, to the custom-house, court-house, printing office and to all dwelling houses of those citizens who were most prominent as friends of American independence. Other private buildings do not appear to have been purposely molested, but from these centres the flames were carried by the wind in various directions, involving whole streets in the conflagration. In this way, the Episcopal church on the Parade was ignited and entirely consumed. A part of the soldiery likewise, reckless of orders, lighted their fires indiscriminately

and apparently with as much glee as a bonfire is kindled on a festal day. The red glare, the circling clouds of smoke and the flying brands and cinders, now red and now black, were viewed with horror by the dispersed inhabitants, who were gathered as spectators on the distant heights. When the flames subsided, the greater part of the town was covered with smouldering ruins and forlorn ash heaps. The number of buildings burnt was 143.

Another tragedy was simultaneously enacted on the Groton side of the river. Fort Griswold was situated upon high ground directly opposite New London, the river between being about half a mile wide. It was the design of General Arnold that this post should be first secured that he might effect his designs upon New London with more security, and that the guns of the fort might be used to prevent the escape of the shipping up the river. The force detailed for the purpose landed earlier than that destined for the west side, and it was confidently expected by Arnold that the two forts would be taken at nearly the same time and with equal ease. But the roughness of the country on the Groton side, consisting in part of tangled swamps and uncleared woods, impeded the advance of

the troops and forced them to leave their artillery behind. The fort had been garrisoned with stout hearts and able hands, gathered in part from the neighborhood, and, by offering a formidable resistance where none was expected, surprised and exasperated the enemy.

The walls of the fort were of stone, topped with earth and defended by a strong fraising of cedar pickets projecting outward. Above this was a high breast-work with embrasures for cannon. In form it was nearly square, with bastions or flanks at the angles and surrounded by a trench five feet deep. The ordinary garrison consisted of less than thirty men, drafted at intervals from the militia but on this eventful morning volunteers from the neighborhood, roused by thunder of alarm, came forward in sufficient numbers to man the walls with a respectable force. Captain Shapley also joined them with sixteen men from Fort Trumbull. The whole number is variously stated from 120 to 160.

Colonel William Ledyard was the military commander of New London district which included the two forts. He had visited the west side of the river that morning and, convinced that resistance there would be use-

less, gave orders to Captain Shapley to evacuate his post on the approach of the enemy. Returning to Fort Griswold, he called a council of his officers and with their concurrence and advice resolved to defend his position. Volunteers had already arrived and he trusted that the military bands of the country further back would assemble in time to make a diversion in his favor and compel the invaders to retire. In this expectation he was disappointed. The time was too short for such action. Before the militia could collect in sufficient strength to justify an attack upon the enemy, the fatal blow had been struck and Groton Height was crimsoned with the blood of her sons.

The invading force consisted of two regiments of regular troops, the 45th and 50th led by Majors Montgomery and Bromfield, and a corps of New Jersey loyalists provided with a train of artillery,—the whole under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Eyre. The artillery companies encountered so many obstructions in dragging their pieces over ledges and through swamps, that the regular troops advanced without them, and the Jersey men with their ordnance arrived at the scene

too late to be of service. To the British troops alone the awful excesses of the day must be charged.

When about half a mile from the fort, the enemy halted under the shelter of a woodland knoll, while Captain Beckwith, one of the New Jersey officers that acted as aid to Colonel Eyre, was sent forward with a flag, demanding the surrender of the fort; which, says Arnold in his report of the action, was "peremptorily refused". The English commander, having received this prompt reply, sent back the messenger to repeat the summons, with the savage threat added that if compelled to storm the fort martial law would be enforced. This was understood to signify that no quarter would be granted,—but the brave response was the same—"the fort will be defended to the last extremity".

Captain Beckwith, receiving this answer, hastily turned away, waving his flag as a signal, and the enemy instantly began to move forward in close array to the attack. When they came within reach of the cannon of the fort, they were saluted with a well-aimed discharge which caused their ranks to waver for a moment. But they returned to the charge in open order,

trailing their arms and advancing with great speed, spreading their ranks as they approached so as to threaten the fort on three sides. They were met with a steady discharge of musketry, the garrison firing over the parapet, with deliberate aim and fatal accuracy. But the enemy pressed forward, concentrating their fury upon the southwest bastion, which they attempted to carry by sudden storm, and they would doubtless have effected their purpose had not a determined group of lion-hearted men, Shapley, Chapman and others, gathering at that point met and repulsed them. They drew back carrying their commander, Colonel Eyre, mortally wounded, with them. The Americans gave a triumphant shout, that resounded far and wide.

In the meantime an equally bold assault had been made by Major Montgomery on the northeast side of the fort. His men rushed into the trench, making bridges and ladders of their bodies for one another, some lifting others upon their shoulders, and, while attempting to scale the wall and force out the pickets, receiving undismayed the shower of missiles hurled upon them from above. Clubs, cannon-balls, sods of earth, were thrown down upon

them by the garrison but they never wavered. When one man fell another leaped into his place: when a few with great difficulty had forced out the pickets and obtained a lodgment upon the wall, they pulled up others and a squad being gathered they rushed forward, and by a desperate hand to hand combat obtained possession of a piece of ordnance that enfiladed a side of the fort. This they immediately turned against the garrison and swept down several men with it. And now a strong party pressing forward with fixed bayonets into the embrasures, were met by the garrison with long spears. Major Montgomery, one of the first to enter, fell dead, transfixed upon the point of a spear. Another officer, supposed to have been Ensign Whitlock of the 40th, was also killed and fell back into the trench. Nevertheless, others pressed forward and raising the war cry, "Vengeance! Vengeance for the death of Montgomery!" drove the garrison furiously before them and rushed into the area of the fort, where they cut down the guard that defended the gate and threw it open to their comrades. The troops from without poured in and, crossing the parade, unbolted the south gate to the

force on that side, no opposition being made.

By the death of Montgomery the command of the British devolved on Major Bromfield, who seems to have determined on fully carrying out the fierce threat of his predecessors. When the embrasures were first entered by the enemy, Colonel Ledyard gave orders for resistance to cease. The fighting after this was only a desperate effort of self-defence against butchery.

The gates were thrown open and the enemy marched in, rank after rank, while the garrison, huddling together in groups, awaited their doom. The Colonel stood near the centre of the parade, with a few of his officers and personal friends around him. Then above all the tumult was heard the voice of the British Commander, "Who commands this fort?" Colonel Ledyard, advancing toward him and bowing, replied in a firm tone, "I did, Sir ; but you do now," and presented his sword in token of submission ; the barbarous officer, grasping the weapon, plunged it into the bosom of its owner, who staggered and fell.

It has been reported that before committing this savage act, the fierce Briton said to his victim, "You know the rules of war and what

you have to expect," reminding him thus that the alternative had been offered him and he had deliberately chosen resistance and death. Yet the blackness of the deed is not relieved by its being performed in execution of a brutal threat. The amiable Ledyard, brave and generous as any of the boasted chivalry of England, lay slain; not in fair fight, but a sacrifice to blood-thirsty vengeance. The friends that had stood near him leaped forward to avenge the blow, or to share his fate and fell, overpowered by numbers, but defending themselves to the last and selling their lives at a price.

Slaughter and havoc now filled the fort. Three platoons in succession discharged their muskets upon the terrified garrison, who, crowded together on one side of the parade, threw down their arms and vainly cried, "Quarter! Quarter!" Others of the soldiery fired into the barrack windows, upon those who had sought shelter there; twice a file of the enemy discharged their guns at those who fled to the magazine for refuge, thoughtless of the ruinous explosion that might take place.

The sword and bayonet were also at work. In vain did the bewildered garrison plead for

mercy, clasping their hands as suppliants, falling down on their knees and adjuring the conquerors as they hoped for Heaven to spare them. In vain they sought to escape butchery by feigning death, or by leaping from the walls. Everywhere they were beset and pursued with curses, knocked down with the butt end of muskets and trampled to death, or pierced with the bayonet. Amid the shrieks and groans of the victims, resounding shouts and cries were heard, "Cut down the Yankees! Kill the rebels! No quarter!" accompanied with yells and fearful oaths.

It was all the work of a few minutes; so great was the frenzy of the British soldiers that their officers sought to restrain them by threats and force. They ran to the front, caught hold of the infuriated men and with drawn swords ordered them back, exclaiming, "Blood enough! Blood enough! For heaven's sake, stop!" One of these officers threw himself between his men and their victims, crying in agony, "No more blood! Spare them! Spare them! My soul cannot bear it!" Often in after days, was the hoarse cry and the thrilling expression of this English Captain—"my soul cannot bear it" recalled

to mind and repeated by the few survivors of that terrible massacre.

The excitement was at length calmed. Eighty-one of the garrison lay dead and more than half of the remainder were severely wounded. Scarcely one was left that had not received a heavy blow, a gun shot or a sabre cut. When the enemy had made good their lodgment upon the fort and Ledyard gave the orders for resistance to cease, only six men had been killed and eighteen or twenty slightly wounded, though not disabled from action.

After the massacre, plunder followed. The dead were stripped nearly naked and thrown into a heap on one side; the wounded were left without having their wounds dressed, or water furnished to quench their thirst. It was in truth all that the enemy could do, to take care of their own wounded men and convey them, with the plunder of the fort and the prisoners they had taken, to their vessels. They were forced to ply their work in hot haste, lest the alarmed country should pour its enraged population upon them, before they could escape with their booty. They had at least a hundred wounded men, many of whom could not walk, to be transported singly on

barrack doors and boards by carriers, four to a man, from the height on which the fort was situated, down a rugged precipitous descent, nearly half a mile to the water side. The fort was to be dismantled and the dead buried.

Major Montgomery was interred opposite the northeast bastion of the fort, near the spot where he fell. Two other persons, probably officers, were laid in separate graves, but the remainder of their dead, about forty in number, were buried in several pits, which were dug outside of the walls in the open field. No stake or stone was left to point out any of these resting places of the dead, and the ground was smoothed over to obliterate the traces of interment.

The prisoners that were able to walk were marched to the river, where the roll of their names was taken and they were sent with the plunder of the fort and village on board the English fleet, which was then lying in the harbor close at hand. On Groton Bank, the houses and stores of the Ledyards, of Thomas Mumford and others, the best in the village and belonging to persons most obnoxious to the British, were set on fire and the flames spread to several other dwellings. These were

still burning as the prisoners marched, or rather were driven, down to the water and, on the opposite side of the river, smoke and flames were rising from ship-hulks and smouldering buildings.

The fort, with its barracks for three hundred men and its magazine lately replenished with a supply of powder, the enemy could not take away. These must therefore be destroyed and before this could be done the wounded Americans must be removed. They had not time to convey the wounded prisoners down the hill singly and carefully, as they had their own disabled men. Another expedient was adopted. All that could not walk were laid, one upon another, in a large ammunition wagon, a piteous freight of sufferers, and a train of soldiers ordered to drag them down the hill. The road was nearly in its original condition, encumbered with rocks, tree-stumps and bushes, over which the cart went lumbering and pitching, till at length, in surmounting some obstruction, the weight pressing heavily upon the soldiers with a sudden impetus, they leaped aside and left the vehicle to its headlong course. Down it rushed, jolting over the stones and hollow places, till it struck against

a trunk of an old tree and rebounded with such force as to throw out two or three of the wounded men and to cause intense agony to all. The cries of the sufferers were loud and heart rending, being distinctly heard, it is said, at New London on the opposite side of the river. The soldiers did what they could in this extremity. They conveyed the bleeding victims to the nearest house, where they were left alone in their misery until found by their friends after the departure of the enemy.

Night had now set in. Captain Lemoine of the Royal Artillery with his corps remained behind, charged by Arnold with the last duty, that of destroying the works. A fire was kindled on the floor of one of the barracks, and a train of powder laid to the magazine, just far enough from the fire, as was supposed, to allow a safe retreat. The Captain and his party then hastened down the hill to join their comrades, expecting to witness at a secure distance the tremendous uproar and destruction for which they had made preparation. Yet nothing came of it and, as several hours elapsed before all the troops from both sides of the river had embarked, Captain Lemoine was directed by the General to return to the fort

and renew the experiment. This was not done. Why the order was not obeyed is not known. The general hazard involved in the performance probably excused the neglect. A British party, reascending the hill on that fatal night, would have been exposed to certain destruction from the groups of excited countrymen who were drawing near to the scene of desolation.

But how was the well-laid train of the Royal Artillerists prevented from taking effect? Even before the British left the fort men from the interior were gathering in the neighborhood, and here and there a straggler was creeping stealthily behind fences or hiding in the tree tops, watching for their departure. Among those who at the first alarm in the morning had hastened toward the scene of action, was Major Nathan Peters of Preston, a patriot soldier who had served in two campaigns of the war, and who now mounted his horse and rode fourteen miles to the spot, arriving in the neighborhood just as the British were preparing to leave the fort. Having disposed of his horse, he cautiously approached the walls in order to ascertain if possible the condition of affairs within. Two

or three other resolute persons appear to have been engaged in a similar manner, and the little party drew nearer and nearer to the fort and distinctly heard the enemy give their last orders and call in their guard. They listened to their retreating steps, heard the sound of their voices die away, till, being convinced by the perfect stillness that the fort was wholly deserted, they went forward and boldly entered the open gate. The fire and smoke from the barracks drew their attention and Major Peters instantly suspected that a train had been laid for an explosion. Not a moment was to be lost. He ran to the pump and seizing a cartridge box, the only vessel at hand that would hold water, filled it repeatedly and poured it upon the train of powder, which was found almost in proximity to the flames. By this prompt and energetic action of Major Peters and his companions, the train was intercepted and the fires extinguished. It was near midnight when this was accomplished. The officers of the British fleet plying out of the harbor often turned their eyes toward the Height, hoping yet to witness the explosion, and perplexed and mortified at the disappointment they passed out of sight.

To the inhabitants of Groton that night of uncertainty and suspense was followed by a gloomy dawn. Of the eighty-one that lay dead in the fort, pierced in some instances with twenty or even thirty wounds and so disfigured that their nearest friends found it difficult to recognize them, sixty were her sons. More than forty women were made widows in that forlorn night.

In a house near the foot of the hill lay the wounded, stretched upon bare floors, exhausted with loss of blood and intolerable thirst. Agonizing groans resounded from room to room. It was near the break of day before a friendly step ventured to approach them or a kindly voice breathed a word of comfort in their ears. Then came wives, mothers, children, moving from one to another, scanning the features by the ghastly light of lanterns and calling out the names of husband, son or brother. Happily a few were there to answer and to be soothed and saved by ministering skill and the sweet offices of love and mercy. Two, alas! of the wretched company were found cold and silent, having died during the night.

Within the enclosure of the Fort on that

dreadful day many painful scenes of recognition took place. The trembling hands of women washed the blood and grime from the faces of the dead and the features of the best beloved could not at first be recognized.

Arnold lingered a while with his fleet among the islands of the Sound collecting the results of his adventure and then returned to New York. The expedition had consumed eight days. He had faithfully performed his commission, had taken a few prisoners and was gorged with plunder. But we may well conceive that his chief acquisitions were those that he carried away in his own bosom and which were unreported in his despatches, dire regrets and painful memories; images of burning homes and houseless families, and more vivid than all, a picture of that carnage of living beings, his ancient neighbors and acquaintances, which would ghost-like pass before him at intervals till his dying day. Not that General Arnold personally participated in the slaughter of any one of his country-men, in that expedition; on the contrary he expressed great solicitude lest blood be shed, but the result of his treason will ever be charged to his account.

In the attack upon the Fort, the British had

about two hundred men killed and wounded : some of the officers stated the number at two hundred and twenty, but the returns forwarded by Arnold to Sir Henry Clinton immediately after the battle acknowledge only fifty-one dead and one hundred and forty-two wounded. Of the latter, a number died afterwards and were buried in the Sound or upon the shore of Plum Island.

The American prisoners on board the fleet reported afterward that thirteen of the wounded soldiers died after the battle and were buried in the sea.

After comparing the various computations made by the survivors of the garrison and other inhabitants of New London and Groton, the result is as follows. Killed or mortally wounded, eighty-five. Severely wounded and most of them left on parole, thirty-two ; this includes at least three of the former list, viz. Captain Adam Shapley, Ebenezer Avery and Daniel Stanton. Prisoners forty, of whom probably twenty-five were from the fort. Number of the garrison not less than one hundred and thirty, not more than one hundred and fifty.

These men were inexperienced in warfare,

the fortification in which they were cooped up was new, imperfect, and only half furnished with the means of defence, yet how manly, skilful and determined was their resistance! The havoc which they made in a well-trained, well-appointed battalion of British soldiery shows a firmness and bravery that should have challenged the admiration and secured the courteous forbearance of a gallant foe, yet it seems only to have stimulated the invaders to an exercise of barbarous revenge.

Yet this vindictive outbreak need not be exaggerated. Terrible as it was, some accounts give to the black deed a deeper dye than belongs to it. Even an eye witness may err in his report through the vagueness of memory, or the fervor of indignation.

Americans have commonly thrown the odium of the murder of Ledyard upon Captain, or Colonel Beckwith of New Jersey. Yet Colonel Beckwith, having no independent command in the expedition and acting only as a staff officer, would scarcely have ventured to assume the responsibility of this crowning deed of barbarity. He himself, when in America many years afterwards, indignantly denied the charge, affirming that he was

occupied in a different quarter and was in no way accessory to the death of Ledyard, not being even aware of the deed until some time after it was committed. He does not however admit the turpitude of the act, but alleges that Ledyard was regularly summoned to surrender, and lost his life from the rash determination to defend the fort to the last. This is the British version of an indefensible, criminal act.

The summons to surrender, to which Beckwith alludes, delivered before the assault commenced, was indeed linked with a barbarian threat which only barbarians would have executed. The friends of Ledyard assert that he made no resistance after the enemy had obtained a lodgment upon the fort and that, in defending the position to that point, he had done nothing that should have deprived him of honorable usage as a prisoner of war.

Justice seems to require that the death of Ledyard and the indiscriminate massacre that followed should be laid to the door of the commanding officer. The responsibility belongs to him, even if he were not the immediate perpetrator of the savage deed and the willing spectator of the subsequent butchery. Nor

does it lessen the heinousness of the act that it was planned and proclaimed beforehand and the suffering party forewarned of the penalty that would follow the faithful performance of duty.

Brainard, in his commemorative oration (Sept. 6, 1825), observes: "The immediate infamy must rest on Bromfield, whose name and character have never since met the public gaze. It is said that he was afterwards promoted to the rank of a Brigadier and was employed in the East Indies, where he shot himself through the head with a pistol."

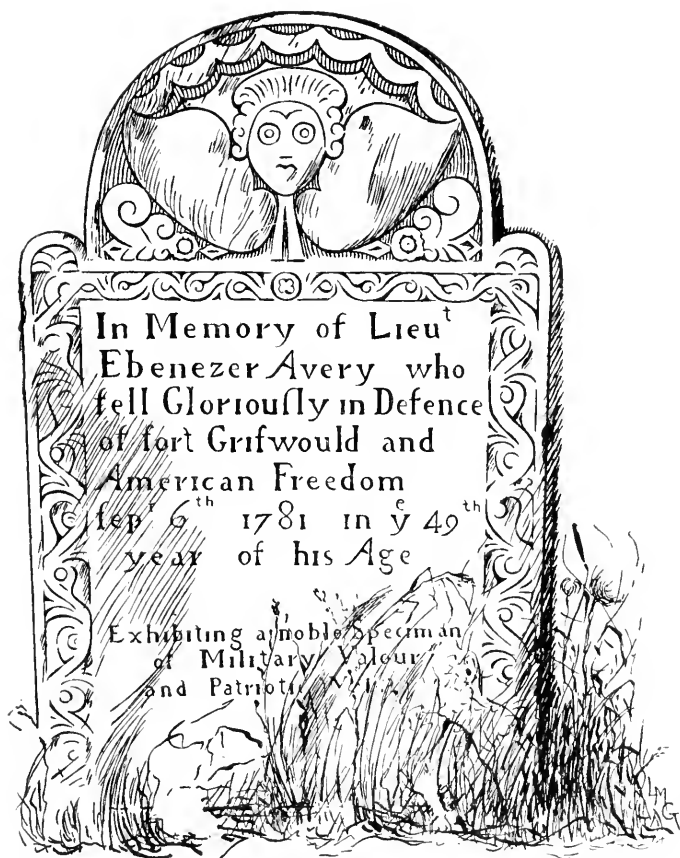
What an awful tinge of irony seems attached to the commendation of Arnold in his despatch to Sir Henry Clinton: "The command devolved on Major Bromfield, whose behavior on this occasion does him great honor."

Names of the wounded who were paroled and left at home.

Lieutenant Park Avery	Daniel Eldridge
Ensign Ebenezer Avery	Andrew Gallup
Amos Avery	Robert Gallup
John Daboll	Stephen Hempstead
Samuel Edgecombe, Jr.	Corp. Judd (of Hebron)
Charles Eldridge	Captain William Latham

Christopher Latham	William Seymour
Jonathan Latham	Daniel Stanton
Frederick Maine	Elisha Prior
John Morgan	William Starr
Jabish Pendleton	Sanford Williams
Captain Solomon Perkins	Joseph Woodmancey
Obediah Perkins	Asabel Woodworth
Ebenezer Perkins	Thomas Woodworth
Ziba Woodworth	

Daniel Eldridge, though numbered among the wounded and paroled men, was nevertheless carried to New York as one of the prisoners and afterward exchanged. On the third of December 1781, 130 prisoners that had been exchanged were brought to New London in flag vessels, and among them were those that had been taken on the sixth of September. They had been confined in prison ships and were in a deplorable condition from fever and neglect. Accommodations in New London were obtained with difficulty. Every house that had been left unconsumed and the few since built were crowded with occupants. By taking in these infected persons, the fever was widely spread and, though few of the cases were of a malignant type, it was a winter of desolation and gloom both in New London



Ledyard Burial-ground.

and Groton.

One of these enfeebled and diseased prisoners was Daniel Eldridge, who died December 11th. His friend and neighbor, Cary Leeds, having assisted in nursing him, fell a victim to the same disease. Mr. Leeds was one of the garrison of the fort who, when the enemy obtained possession, leaped from the walls, cleared the ditch, outran his pursuers and escaped the massacre. But he was severely wounded and had scarcely recovered from his injuries, when he caught the infection at the bedside of his friend and died December 28th.

Another victim of the disease brought home by the released prisoners was Thomas Chester, Jr., oldest son of Thomas Chester and brother of Daniel and Eldridge Chester, who were slain in the Fort. He had been taken prisoner at Essequibo, March 1781, carried to the West Indies and kept several months in confinement, but made his escape to a neutral port and finally reached home September 25th. He took the fever from one of the prisoners to whom he was dispersing aid and sympathy, and was soon laid by the side of his martyred brothers.

THE BATTLE MONUMENT.

THE Groton Monument Association, incorporated by Act of Legislature in 1820, erected this granite shaft on the Heights, and holds the property in trust for the State of Connecticut. The corner stone was laid September 6, 1825, and the dedication took place four years later, when a few of the survivors of the Massacre were present.

It bears this inscription :

This Monument

Was erected under the patronage of the State of
Connecticut, A. D. 1830,

And in the 55th year of the Independence of the U. S. A.

IN MEMORY OF THE BRAVE PATRIOTS

Who fell in the massacre at Fort Griswold near this spot
on the 6th of September, A. D. 1781,

When the British under the command of

THE TRAITOR BENEDICT ARNOLD,

burnt the towns of New London & Groton, and spread
desolation and woe throughout this region.

The shaft was originally one hundred and twenty-seven feet high, and in 1881 its height was increased to one hundred and thirty-five feet.

*List of men who fell at Fort Griswold,
Sept. 6th, 1781.

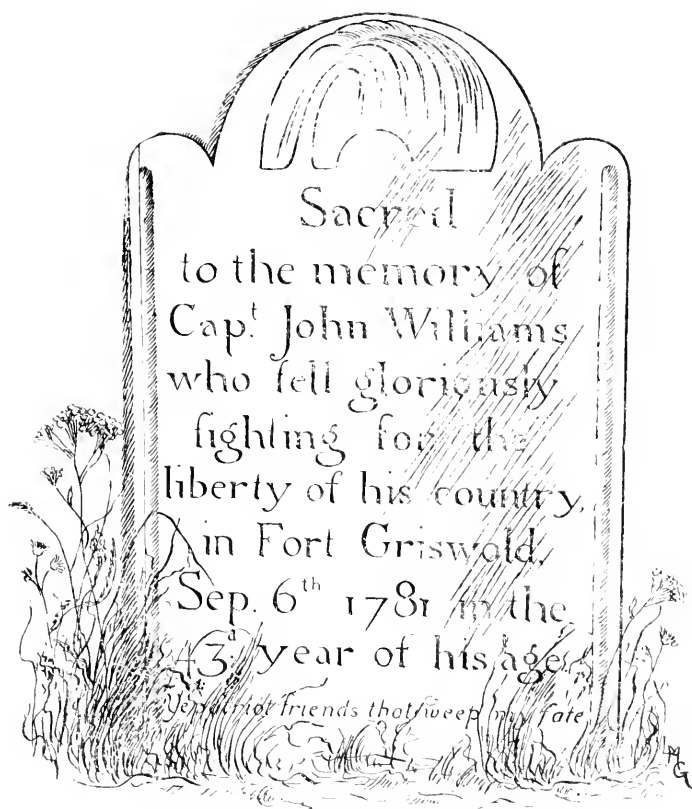
William Ledyard	John Brown
Lieut. Col. Commanding	Hubbard Burrows
Elijah Avery	Jonathan Butler
Ebenezer Avery	Frederic Chester
Solomon Avery	Eldridge Chester
Jasper Avery	Daniel Chester
Elisha Avery	Richard Chapman
Daniel Avery	Philip Covil
David Avery	Ellis Coit
Christopher Avery	James Comstock
Thomas Avery	William Comstock
Simeon Allyn	John Clark
Samuel Allyn	Daniel Davis
Belton Allyn	Samuel Hill
Benadam Allyn	Henry Halsey
Nathan Adams	John Holt
John P. Babcock	Rufus Hurlbut
John Billings	Moses Jones
Andrew Billings	Eliday Jones
Samuel Billings	Benoni Kenson
Ezekiel Bailey	Barney Kenny
Andrew Baker	Thomas Lamb
William Bolton	Youngs Ledyard

*A corrected list may be found in appendix.

THE STONE RECORDS OF GROTON

Daniel Lester	David Seabury
John Lester	John Stedman
Jonas Lester	Nathan Sholes
Wait Lester	Thomas Starr
Joseph Lewis	Nicholas Starr
Nathan Moore	Amos Stanton
Joseph Moxley	Enoch Stanton
Simeon Morgan	Daniel Stanton
Edward Mills	Henry Williams
Thomas Miner	Thomas Williams
Luke Perkins	John Williams
Luke Perkins, Jr.	Henry Woodbridge
Elnathan Perkins	Christopher Woodbridge
Elisha Perkins	Stephen Whittelsey
Asa Perkins	John Whittelsey
Simeon Perkins	Sylvester Walworth
David Palmer	Patrick Ward
Peter Richards	Joseph Wedger
Captain Adam Shapley	(Colored men)
of Fort Trumbull	Sambo Latham
Jordan Freeman	

Of the garrison volunteers, not including Ledyard and Shapley, the commanders of the two forts, ten had attained the rank of Captain; viz. Simeon and Samuel Allyn, Elijah and Elisha Avery, Hubbard Burrows, Youngs Ledyard, Nathan Moore, Peter Richards, Amos Stanton and John Williams.



Ye patriot friends, that weep my fate,
As if untimely slain;
Faith binds my soul, to Jesus's breast,
And turns my loss to gain.

Ledyard Burial-ground.

THE LEDYARD MONUMENT

COLONEL LEDYARD was interred in a small Burial Ground upon Groton Heights, where three of his children had been buried. The stone, erected to his memory by his widow, having been defaced by storm or mutilated by visitors, a monument was erected in August 1854 through an appropriation made by the Legislature of Connecticut.

For inscriptions, see the two following pages.

(On West side)

LEDYARD.

Sons of Connecticut.

Behold this Monument and learn to Emulate
the virtue valor and Patriotism
of your ancestors.

(On South side)

ERECTED IN 1854

By the State of Connecticut in remembrance of the
painful events that took place in this neighborhood
during the war of the Revolution.

It commemorates the Burning of New London ;
the Storming of Groton Fort, the Massacre of
the Garrison, and the Slaughter of Ledyard, the
brave Commander of these posts, who was slain
by the Conquerors with his own Sword

He fell in the service of his country
Fearless of death and prepared to die.

THE LEDYARD MONUMENT

(On North side)

COPY OF THE INSCRIPTION ON THE HEAD STONE
NE ORIGINALLY ERECTED OVER THE GRAVE

OF COL. LEDYARD

Sacred to the Memory Of WILLIAM LEDYARD Esq.
Col. Commandant of the Garisoned posts of New London
& Groton: Who after a gallant defence, was with a part of
the brave Garrison, inhumanly Massacred: by british troops
in Fort Griswold. Sept: 6. 1781, Ætatis. suæ 43.

By a judicious, & Faithful discharge of the various duties
of his Station, He rendered most essential Service to his
Country; and stood confessed, the unshaken Patriot;
and intrepid Hero. He lived, the Pattern of Magna
nimity; Courtesy; and Humanity. He fell the Victim
of ungenerous Rage and Cruelty.

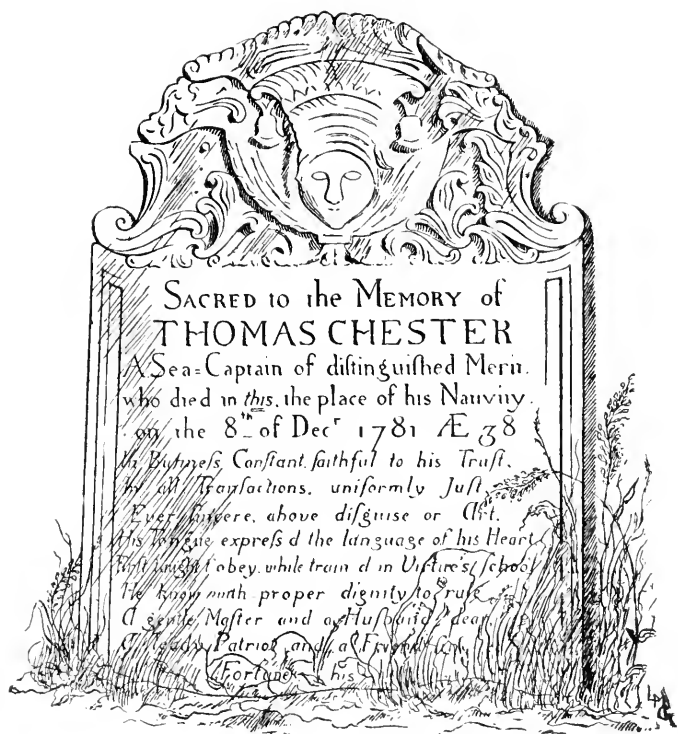
GRAVESTONE INSCRIPTIONS

In Memory of
M^r ANDREW BILLINGS
Son of Cap^t STEPHEN &
M^{rs} BRIDGET BILLINGS
who was Inhumanly
Massacred by British troops
in Fort Griswold
Sep^r 6th AD: 1781
In the 22^d year
of his Age.

Ledyard Burial-ground.

In Memory of
Cap^t YOUNGS LEDYARD
who was mortally wounded
making heroic exertions
for the defence of
Fort Griswold
Sep^r 6th of which he died
the 7th AD: 1781
in the 31st year of his Age.

Ledyard Burial-ground.



Ledyard Burial-ground.

Here Lies \bar{y} , Body of
 M^r Daniel Chester son
 of M^r Thomas Chester
 Who was Killed in fort
 Griswould after he Sur-
 renderd sept^r 6th 1781
 in \bar{y} , 27th year of
 his Age,

I for my Countrys
 Cause have fought, My
 blood was spilt upon \bar{y} ,
 Earth, By Relentless In-
 human foes, I fall a sa-
 crifice to Death.

Ledyard Burial-ground.

Here Lies \bar{y} , Body of
 M^r Eldredge Chester
 son of M^r Thomas
 Chester, who was wound-
 ed in fort Griswould sep^r
 6th 1781 and died of his
 Wounds dec^r 31st in
 \bar{y} 24th year of his Age.
 Relentless was my foe
 Deaths weapons through
 me went, Fell by \bar{y} ,
 Fatal blow, Lingerd
 till life was spent.

Ledyard Burial-ground.

In Memory of M^r
Wait Lester son of
M^r Thomas Lester
& Mary his wife
he fell in the
battle at Fort
Griswold sep^t
6th 1781 in y^e,
22^d. year of
his Age.

Starr Burial-ground.

In Memory of M^r
Thomas Minard he
fell a victom Death,
the 6th of sep^t 1781 :
in y^e, 30th year of
his Age.

My blood was spilt upon
the Earth, resign'd my
breath By relentless
unhuman foes; I fell
a Sacrifice to Death.

Starr Burial-ground.

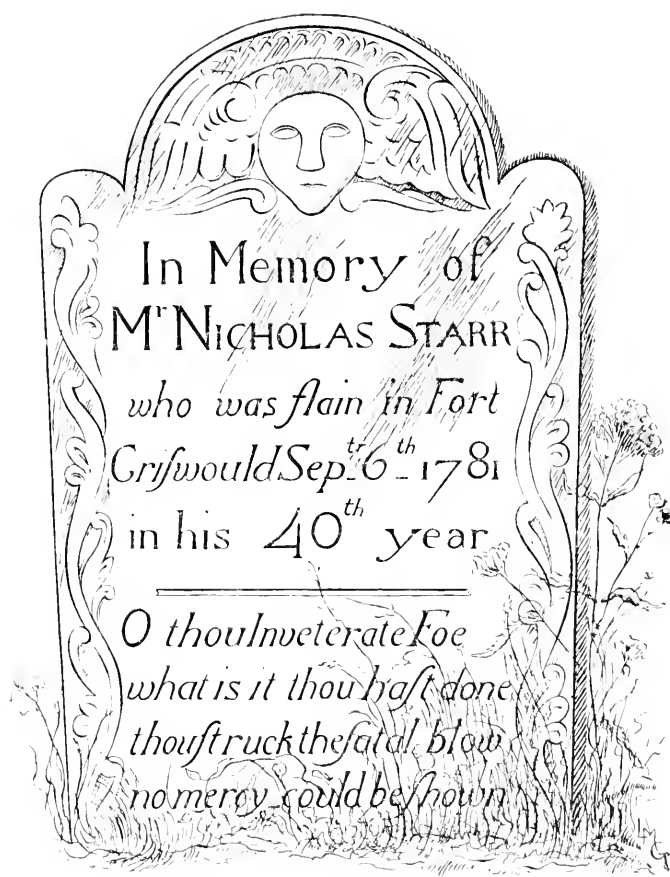
In Memory of M^r
Asia Perkins who was
slain in fort Griswold
Sept^r 6th 1781 in y^e, 33^d
year of his Age

Ye British tyrants
that have pow,^r
And butchers wet
with Humane Gore,
Judgment must come
and you will be
Rewarded for your
Cruelty.

Starr Burial-ground.

In Memory of M^r
Simeon Perkins
who was slain in
fort Griswold
sept^r 6th 1781 in
y^e, 22^d year of
his Age.

Starr Burial-ground.



Starr Burial-ground.

In Memory of M^r
Luke Perkins who
was slain att fort
Griswold sep^r 6th
1781 in y^e, 29th year
of his Age.

Ye sons of Liberty
be not Dismay^d,
That I have fell a
Sacrifice to Death,
But oh to think how
will thir debt be paid
Who murther^d me
when they are call^d,
from earth.

Starr Burial-ground.

In memory of
THOMAS STARR, JR.
who was slain in
Fort Griswold,
Sep. 6, 1781,
in the 19th. year
of his age.

Starr Burial-ground.

In Memory of
M^r HENERY WOODBRIDGE
who was slain in Fort
Griswold Sep^r 6th 1781
in the 33^d Year
of his Age.

Will not a day of reckoning come
does not my blood for vengence cry
how will those wretches bear their doo^m
who hast me slain most Murderously.

Starr Burial-ground.

In Memory of Cap^t Samuel Allyn
he Departed this Life sep^r 6th 1781
in fort Griswold by traitor Ar-
nolds murdering corps, in the
47th year of his Age.

By Gods decree my Bounds
ware fixt, the time ^ē, place,
tho much Confus'd;
The Cause was Good, ^ē,
means ware vile,
Snatch^d me from Charms
of Golden life

Wood Burial-ground.

In Memory of
M^r RUFUS HURLBUT
Who fell in the bloody
committed by Benedic Arnolds Troops
Massacre_λ at Fort Griswold
Sept^{ber} the 6th 1781 in the 40th
Year of his Age.
Reader consider how I fell,
For Liberty I bleed;
O! then repent ye Sons of hell,
For th^e innocent blood you shed.
Galesferry Burial-ground.

In Memory of M^r
Benadam Allyn who died
sep^r 6th 1781 In fort griswold
by trator arnolds murdring
Corps in y^e 20th year of his
Age
To future ages this shall
Tell, This brave youth
in fort griswold fell,
For amaricas Liberty,
He Fought & Blead
Alas he die^d
Allyn Burial-ground.

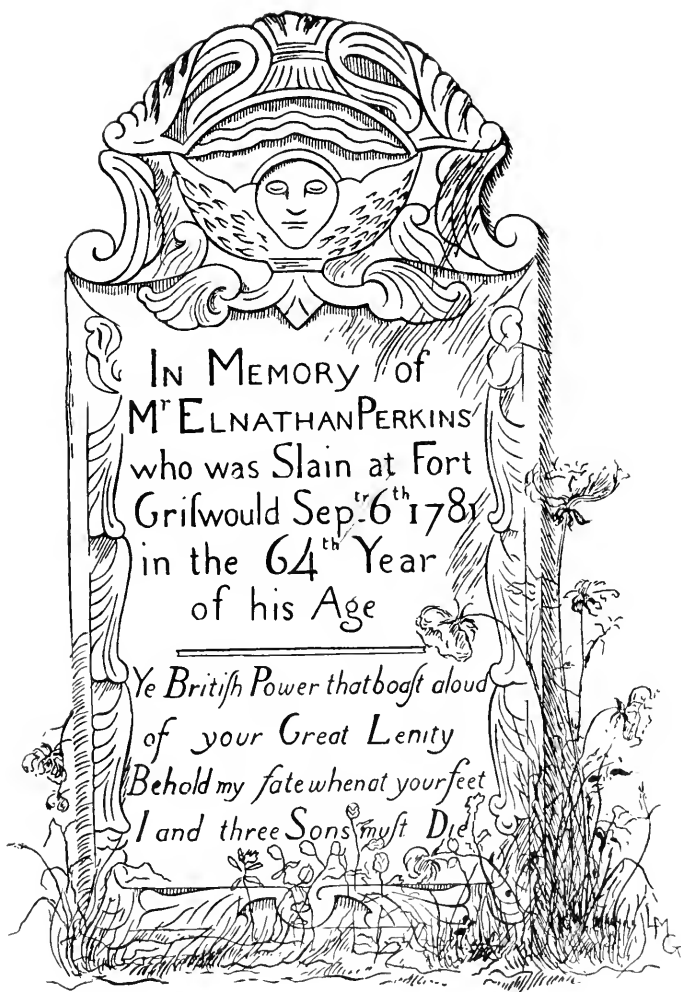
In Memory of Cap^t Si-
meon Allyn who Died
sep^t 6th 1781 in fort
Griswoud with his lieu^t
Ensⁿ & 13 soldiers by trai-
tor arnolds murdring Corps
in y^e 37th year of his Age
By Gods decree my bounds
Ware fixt the time y^e
place though much Confus^d
the cause was good y^e
means was vile Snatch^d
me from Charms of
Golden Life.

Allyn Burial-ground.

In Memory of M^r
Andrew Baker who Died
sep^t 6th 1781 in fourt Gris-
woud by Traitor Arnold
murdering corps, in the
26th year of his Age.

This Gallant youth while
Cannon roar, Decree'd by
God to live no more;
a sudden dart by mur-
dering hands, Death Ceased
his life at Gods Command.

Morgan's Pond Burial-ground.



Starr Burial-ground.

In Memory of
 Lieu^t Joseph Lewis, who
 died sept^r 6th 1781 In fourt
 Griswould by traitor Arnold
 murdering corps in y^e, 41st
 year of his Age.

This Gallant man, when God
 Doth call, doth give his life
 in freedoms cause; a sudden
 dart doth wing away, that
 precious life that dwells
 in Clay.

Morgan's Pond Burial-ground.

In Memory of Ensⁿ
 John Lester who died
 sep^t 6th 1781: in fort
 Griswould by traitor
 arnolds murdring Corps
 in y^e, 42^d year
 of his Age.

By Gods decree my bound
 ware fixt, the time y^e,
 place though much
 Confus^d, the cause was
 good y^e, means was vile,
 Snatch^d me from Charms
 of Golden life.

Morgan's Pond Burial-ground.

In Memory of M^r Simeon
Morgan who died sep^t 6th
1781 : in fort Griswold by trai
tor arnolds murdring Corps
in y^e, 27th year of his Age.

This Blooming youth in
sweets of life his God
doth Call while Cannon
roar a winged dart
doth sease his breath
& takes him from
this Golden shore.

Morgan's Pond Burial-ground.

In memory of
Cap^t Hubbard Burrows,
who was killed in
Fort Griswold
Sep. 6th 1781,
in the 42^d year
of his age.

Crary Burial-ground.

In
Memory of
JOHN P. BABCOCK
who, together with a small
party of Americans in
Fort Griswold withstood
an Assault made by a
Detachment of
British Troops
untill being overcome
by superior numbers
he was massacred
Sept. 6, 1781,
Æ. 30 years.
Crary Burial-ground.

In Memory of
Lieu^t Henry Williams,
Son of
Cap^t Henry Williams,
& Mary his wife,
who fell at Fort
Griswold Sep. 6th 1781,
in the 32^d year
of his age.
Williams Burial-ground.

Memento

Lieu ^t Enoch	Serg ^t Daniel
Stanton slain in y ^e	Stanton slain in y ^e
36 th year of	26 th year of
his Age.	his Age.

Here inter'd are the bodies of two brothers, Sons of Cap^t Phin^s Stanton & Elisabeth his wife, who fell with many of their friends, Sep^r 6th 1781. whilst manfully fighting for the Liberty of their Country, in defence of Fort Griswold. The Assailants were troops commanded by that most despicable parricide, Benedict Arnold.

Henry Palmer Burial-ground.

In Memory of M^r
Thomas Williams
who was kill'd in
fort Griswold
Sep^r 6th AD. 1781
in y^e, 60th year
of his age.

Whitehall Burial-ground.



Allyn Burial-ground.

In Memory of Mr
 Moses Jones who was
 Slain in fo^rt Griswold
 Sep^r 6th 1781 in y^e, 25th
 year of his Age
 Will not a day of Rec-
 koning come ; Does not
 my blood for vengeance
 Cry ; How will those
 Wretches bear their
 Doom ; Who hath me
 Slain most Murderously

Turner Burial-ground.

In Memory of Mr Joseph
 Moxley who Died sep
 6th 1781 in fort Gris-
 would by traitor arnolds
 murdring Corps in y^e,
 46th year of his Age.
 By Gods decree my
 bounds were fixt, the
 time the place the means
 though vile, & whilst I bleed
 the views of bliss, Faith
 triumph over monster Death

Turner Burial-ground.

In
Memory of
DAVID PALMER
who was slain in
Fort Griswold
Sept. 6, 1781.
in the 38 year
of his age.

Palmer Burial-ground.

In Memory of Ensign
Daniel Avery who
nobly nobly sa-
crificed his Life
in Defence of fort
Griswold & the
Liberties of America
sep^r 6th 1781 : in y^e,
41st year of his Age

Old Poquonnoc Burial-ground.

IN MEMORY OF
DAVID AVERY Esq^r

who having performed the endearing
Offices of Friendship and Religion,
in social Connections ;

And usefully and honorably
served the Public in various Characters ;

Nobly risk'd his life in defence of
Fort Griswold & American Freedom ;
and fell a victim to british Inhumanity

Sept^r 6th : 1781 : in the 54th

Year of his Age.

Old Poquonnoc Burial-ground.

In Memory of
M^r Elisha Avery
Who was slain
in Fort Griswold

Sep^r 6 1781 in

ŷ, 26th year of
his Age

It is appointed
for man once
to die.

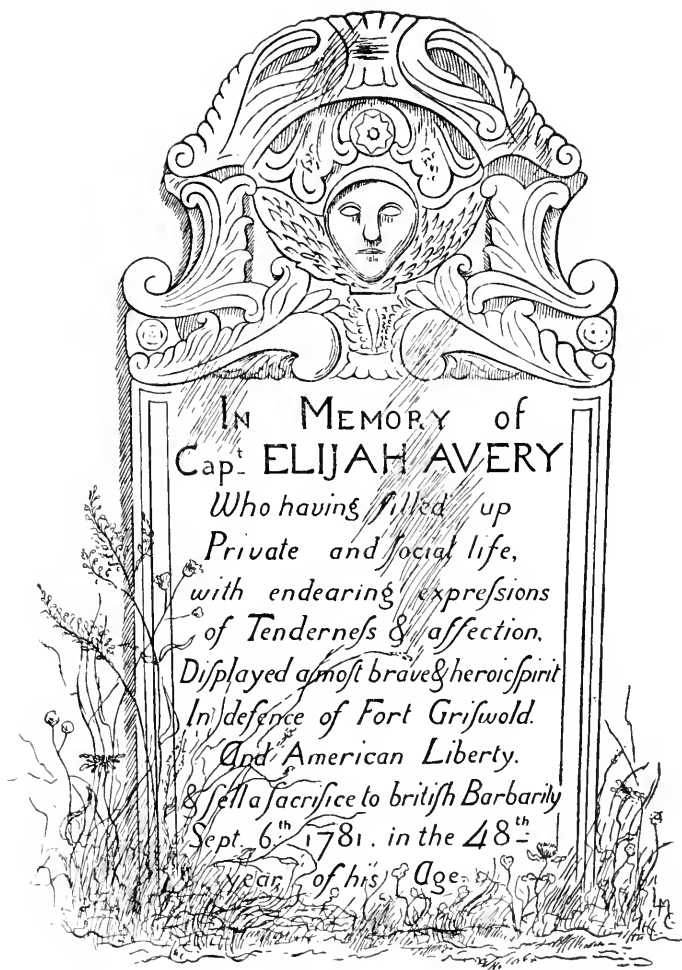
Old Poquonnoc Burial-ground.

In Memory of
M^r Jasper Avery
who was slain in fort
Griswold in defence
of his Country's
freedom Sep^t 6th
1781 in ^ey, 38th year
of his Age.
This life uncer-
tain, but Death
comes to all

Old Poquonnoc Burial-ground.

In Memory of M^r
Solomon Avery
who was slain in
fort Griswold by
the british troops
Sep^t 6th 1781 in
^ey, 33^d year of
his Age.

Old Poquonnoc Burial-ground.



IN MEMORY of
Cap^t ELIJAH AVERY

*Who having filled up
Private and social life,
with endearing expressions
of Tenderness & affection.
Displayed a most brave & heroic spirit
In defence of Fort Griswold.
And American Liberty.*

*& fell a sacrifice to british Barbarity
Sept. 6th 1781. in the 48th
year of his Age.*

First Poquonnock Burial-ground.

Sacred to the
Memory of M^r
Thomas Avery,
son to Park Avery
Jn^r who made
his Exit in Fort
Griswold Sept.
6th 1781, Aged
17 years.

Life how short:
Eternity how long.

Old Poquonnoc Burial-ground.

In Memory of M^r
Patric Ward who
fell a victim to brit
ish Cruelty in fort
Griswold sep^r 6th
1781: in y^e, 25th
year of his Age.

Old Poquonnoc Burial-ground.

In Memory of
Lieut Richard Chapman
who was killed at
Fort Griswold Sep 6.
1781, in the 45. year
of his age.

How suddenly death's arrows fly!
They strike us & they pass not by,
But hurl us to the grave.

First New London Burial-ground.

In memory of
Mr John Holt Junr
who was slain in Fort
Griswold Sep. 6th 1781,
in the 35th year of his age.
And

In memory of
M^{rs} Martha Holt,
Relict of
Mr John Holt Junr
who died March 31st 1807,
in the 63^d year of her age.
The sweet remembrance of the just,
Shall flourish tho' they sleep in dust.

First New London Burial-ground.

In Memory of
Mr.

JOHN CLARK,
who departed
this Life Sep^r 6.
1781, aged 34
Years.

First New London Burial-ground.

In Memory of Cap^t
Adam Shapley of Fort
Trumbull who bravely
gave his Life for his
Country a fatal Wound
at Fort Griswold Sep^t 6th
1781 caused his Death
Feb^r 14 1782 Aged
43 Years

Shapley thy deed reverse
the Common doom
and make thy name
immortal in a tomb

First New London Burial-ground.

IN MEMORY of
Cap^t PETER RICHARDS,
who was willing to Hazard
every danger, in defence
of American Independance,
was a Volunteer in
Fort Griswold, at Groton
the 6th of Sep^r 1781
and there Slain in the
28th Year of his Age.

Cedar Grove Cemetery.

Erected by
ROBERT COMSTOCK ESQ.
To the memory of his
Grandfather
JAMES COMSTOCK,
who bravely fell
in Fort Griswold
in the service of his country
Sept. 6, 1783,
Aged 75.
A signal example of valor
Patriotism and heroic virtue.

Comstock Burial-ground.



First New London Burial-ground.

GRAVESTONE INSCRIPTIONS

Daniel Son of
Cap^t Charles &
M^{rs} Temparence
Williams
who fell in the Action
in Fort Griswold
on Groton hill on the
6th of Sep^r 1781
in the 15th year
of his Age

Saybrook Point Burial-ground.

In printing the above inscriptions no effort has been made to reproduce the long s, italicized words or lines.

APPENDIX

Part of a letter from Ebenezer Ledyard to the Hon. William Williams, member of the Connecticut Council of Safety, or War Committee.

Dated at Groton, Feb. 12, 1778.

MY brother has received orders to enlist another matross company—his first orders from his Excellency were to take charge of the forts on both sides and to overlook the works. He has been obliged to order all the work last Summer and take as much care of his Company as other Captains.

I don't believe they can enlist any but boys without a bounty and boys are not fit for cannon—they can't do their duty—it requires able-bodied men.

My brother is on duty every day. He is willing to serve to order the work on both sides and command both forts, but to take charge of a company and direct the works both as last year, he can't. Last year he served as engineer which made a great saving to the public, but thinks he ought to be allowed something extra.

While others have been trading and making money he has served the public in many departments. But others that do very little are as much noticed as him and when any field officer of the militia comes in here, they are over him—yet they are obliged to go to him to set their men to work and he directs

the whole. So he does the work and they have the credit,—but if he is not put over both forts without taking a Company I believe he wont serve. We have neither of us touched trade since these times began but constantly served the public, and have had other people by us improving and making fortunes, and we have lived on money due us many years.

This, if your honor please, you may show Judge Law, if at Assembly, or Esquire Payne or any honest man.

Copy of a letter from Colonel William Ledyard to Governor Trumbull, written only three days before he was slain.

New London, 3d Sept. 1781.

MAY it please your Excellency.

Having received information lately that a number of horses were buying up and several already collected for the purpose of being sent over to Long Island, upon which information we kept two boats cruizing near the place they were to embark from for three nights, but the wind proving unfavorable and the nights very light prevented their embarking and for fear the persons concerned in sending over the horses would take another route with them, I thought it advisable to seize the horses at the different places where they were collected, and have already seized and secured 4 of the horses,—also a person by the name of Collins Gorton who appears to be concerned in the affair. A large number of sheep are also purchased and are collecting to send to the enemy.

Would wish your Excellency would please to order unto this garrison a proper number of men for the security of this post to enable us more effectually to prevent supplies being sent to the enemy. It

appears that there are a large number of persons concerned in this trade who pay little or no regard to authority or the laws of the State, and I conceive they are dangerous persons respecting this post.

I am this day preparing a flag to go to New York with a number of British naval prisoners in order to exchange those now there belonging to this State. The last flag brought out all those persons your Excellency wrote about from Danbury. I have not yet received any money from the Collector of Groton as directed and fear from what he said that he wont be able to supply me with any worthy of note for some time to come. I now owe for the price of 5 Flags and shall not have it in my power to continue the exchange of American prisoners unless I am properly furnished with monies. Mr. Mumford will be able to inform your Excellency with the difficulties I meet with on this head.

I am with the utmost respect your Excellency's
most obedient Servant,
Wm. Ledyard.

AUTHORITIES

Barber's Historical Collections
Connecticut Colonial Records
Dwight's Travels
Letters of Thomas Hertell
 Ebenezer Ledyard
 William Ledyard
Moore's Diary of the American Revolution
Narratives of Rufus Avery
 Stephen Hempstead
 John Mason
 Jonathan Rathbun
New London Gazette, Sept. 1781
Orations by J. G. Brainerd
 W. F. Brainerd
 C. Griswold
Trumbull's History of Connecticut
Underhill's History of the Pequot War
Vincent's Pequot War
Winthrop's New England

BURIAL GROUNDS

THE LEDYARD BURIAL-GROUND

at Groton Heights, about one quarter mile south-east of Groton Monument.

THE STARR BURIAL-GROUND

in town of Groton, on north road, about one mile and a half from Ferry.

THE WOOD BURIAL-GROUND

in town of Groton. A small inclosure on north road about one half mile from Starr ground on right of road driving north.

THE GALES FERRY BURIAL-GROUND

in town of Ledyard. A small ground about one quarter of a mile south of the Methodist Church on left of old Groton road.

THE ALLYN BURIAL-GROUND

in town of Ledyard. An inclosure but a few feet from Allyn's Point Landing.

THE MORGAN'S POND BURIAL-GROUND

in town of Ledyard. An uninclosed ground at Morgan's Pond about one quarter mile back from Sandy Hollow road.

THE CRARY BURIAL-GROUND

in town of Groton. An uninclosed ground on

right of road between Burnett's Corners and Old Mystic and about a mile from Old Mystic.

THE WILLIAMS BURIAL-GROUND

in town of Ledyard. An inclosed ground on the Seth Williams farm two and a quarter miles north of Old Mystic on Shewville Road.

THE HENRY PALMER BURIAL-GROUND

in town of Stonington. An inclosed ground about one quarter mile north of Mr. Richard A. Wheeler's, back from the road on the right.

THE WHITEHALL BURIAL-GROUND

in town of Stonington. An inclosed ground back from the road between Old Mystic and Mystic River on right hand.

THE TURNER OR MOXLEY BURIAL-GROUND

in town of Groton. An inclosed ground about one mile from Center Groton on right of road from Center Groton to Gales Ferry.

THE PALMER BURIAL-GROUND

in town of Groton. An inclosed ground about a quarter mile back from road, on Brook Street near head of Palmer's Cove.

THE OLD POQUONNOC OR AVERY AND MORGAN

Burial-ground, in town of Groton at Poquonnoc Bridge.

THE FIRST NEW LONDON OR "YE ANCIENT BURIAL PLACE", corners Huntington, Bulkeley Place and Pleasant Streets.

THE CEDAR GROVE CEMETERY

one mile west of New London.

APPENDIX

THE COMSTOCK BURIAL-GROUND

in town of Montville near Comstock's wharf and
southwest of Montville station Central Vermont
R. R.

THE SAYBROOK BURIAL-GROUND

in town of Old Saybrook on Saybrook Point.

NAMES OF THE HEROES WHO FELL AT FORT GRISWOULD, SEPTEMBER 6, 1781

AS COLLECTED AND ARRANGED BY CHARLES ALLYN
AND PRINTED IN "THE BATTLE OF GROTON HEIGHTS"

Lieutenant-Colonel WILLIAM LEDYARD, Commanding	
Nathaniel Adams	John Billings
Belton Allyn	Samuel Billings
Benadam Allyn	William Bolton
Captain Samuel Allyn	John Brown
Captain Simeon Allyn	Captain Hubbard Burrows
Sergeant Christopher Avery	Jonathan Butler
Ensign Daniel Avery	Lieutenant Richard Chapman
David Avery	Sergeant Eldredge Chester
Lieutenant Ebenezer Avery	Daniel Chester
Captain Elijah Avery	Frederic Chester
Captain Elisha Avery	Jedediah Chester
Sergeant Jasper Avery	John Clark
Sergeant Solomon Avery	Elias Coit*
Thomas Avery	Lieutenant James Comstock
John P. Babcock	William Comstock
Sergeant Ezekiel Bailey	Philip Covill
Andrew Baker	Daniel Davis
Corporal Andrew Billings	Daniel Eldredge

*On the monument slab as Ellis.

THE STONE RECORDS OF GROTON

Jordan Freeman (colored)	Elisha Perkins
Captain Elias Henry Halsey*	Elnathan Perkins
Samuel Hill	Luke Perkins
John Holt, Jr.	Corporal Luke Perkins, Jr.
Sergeant Rufus Hurlburt	Simeon Perkins
Eliday Jones	Captain Peter Richards
Moses Jones	David Seabury
Benoni Kenson	Captain Adam Shapley
Barney Kinney†	Corporal Nathan Sholes
Thomas Lamb	Captain Amos Stanton
Lambo Latham (colored)°	Sergeant Daniel Stanton
Captain Youngs Ledyard	Lieutenant Enoch Stanton
Captain Cary Leeds	Sergeant Nicholas Starr
Daniel D. Lester‡	Thomas Starr, Jr.
Ensign John Lester	Sergeant John Stedman
Jonas Lester	Sylvester Walworth
Wait Lester	Lieutenant Patric Ward
Lieutenant Joseph Lewis	Joseph Wedger
Corporal Edward Mills	John Whittlesey
Thomas Miner§	Stephen Whittlesey
Captain Nathan Moore	Daniel Williams
Corporal Simeon Morgan	Lieutenant Henry Williams
Joseph Moxley	Captain John Williams
David Palmer	Thomas Williams
Asa Perkins	Christopher Woodbridge
Henry Woodbridge	

NAMES OF THE WOUNDED PAROLED AND LEFT AT HOME

Amos Avery	Ensign Ebenezer Avery
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*On the monument Henry Halsey.

†On the monument Kenny.

°On the monument Sambo.

‡On the monument Daniel C.

§On the tombstone Thomas Minard, which seems to be an error, as his descent is from Clement Miner.

APPENDIX

Lieutenant Parke Avery	Jabish Pendleton
John Daboll, Jr.	Ebenezer Perkins
Samuel Edgecomb, Jr.	Lieutenant Obadiah Perkins
Ensign Charles Eldridge	Captain Solomon Perkins
Christopher Eldridge	Elisha Prior
Daniel Eldridge	William Seymour
Andrew Gallup	Daniel Stanton, Jr.
Robert Gallup	Edward Stanton
Sergeant Stephen Hempstead	John Starr
Corporal (Jehial) Judd	Lieutenant William Starr
Christopher Latham, Jr.	Samuel Stillman
Captain Edward Latham	Tom Wansuc
Jonathan Latham, Jr.	Sanford Williams
Captain William Latham	Ensign Jos. Woodmansee
Frederick Moore	Asel Woodworth
John Morgan	Thomas Woodworth
Zibe Woodworth	

PRISONERS CARRIED OFF

Samuel Abraham	Jeremiah Harding
Cabel Avery	Walter Harris
Peter Avery	——— Kilburn
Sergeant Rufus Avery	William Latham
Joshua Baker	Ebenezer Ledyard (hostage)
Reuben Bushnell	Jonathan Miner
Charles Chester	Isaac Morgan
Captain William Coit	Isaac Rowley
Nathan Darrow	Holsey Sanford
Elias Dart	Corporal Josiah Smith
Levi Dart	Lieutenant Jabez Stow
Gilbert Edgcomb	Solomon Tift
Daniel Eldridge	Horatio Wales
Ebenezer Fish	Thomas Welles

THE STONE RECORDS OF GROTON

OTHERS NOT TAKEN PRISONERS

Benjamin Bill	Thomas Mallison
Joshua Bill	Henry Mason
Benajah Holdridge	Japheth Mason
Samuel W. Jaques	Elisha Morgan
William Latham, Jr.	James Morgan
Cary Leeds	Joseph Moxley, Jr.
Amos Lester	John Prentis

WOUNDED ON NEW LONDON SIDE

Samuel Booth Hempstead	Elijah Richards
Jonathan Whaley	

JUL 6 1903

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